

EMBARGOED UNTIL 1:00PM EST, April 27, 2004

Winning the War on Terror

Introduction

Winning the war against our terrorist enemies is the central challenge of our times. The United States has faced other great challenges in our modern history. What we now call our “greatest generation” confronted and defeated fascism in Europe and Asia. A sustained campaign against communism over a fifty year period won the Cold War. Today we face a new type of evil. At the moment, the public face of our enemy is Osama bin Laden and the global al-Qaeda network. But over the long term, we are at war with a brand of radical Islamic fundamentalism that is extremely dangerous, is growing, and is a true threat to our people, our economy, and our way of life.

Let us be clear – this is a war for nothing less than our survival. Al-Qaeda and likeminded groups across the globe are limited only by the weapons they are able to obtain. There is no doubt that if they acquire chemical, biological, radiological, or even nuclear weapons, they will one day try to use them. And if they succeed, many, many lives will be lost and our world will be forever changed.

Our goal must be to win this war; to defeat the enemy. We should not be satisfied with merely reducing the risk of attack. We should not accept that this war will go on forever. Just as we no longer train schoolchildren to run into underground shelters for fear of a Soviet nuclear attack, we should aspire to a future where we no longer live with the uncertainty of catastrophic terror at our doorstep.

A Strategy to Win the War

To prevail in the war on terror our strategy must be bold – we must be willing to exercise every aspect of national power to achieve our goals. Our strategy must be comprehensive – it must deal with every aspect of the challenges we face. And our strategy must be geared not only toward short term gains, but to building and sustaining a global campaign against the evil we face so that one day we can say – “the war on terror is over and we have won.”

To win the war on terror, we must carry out three missions: we must aggressively attack the terrorists and the infrastructure that supports them; we must protect the homeland; and we must prevent the rise of future terrorists.

It is essential that we carry out all three missions at the same time. Identifying and locating our terrorist enemies through the global collection and sharing of intelligence, taking the battle to the terrorists, wherever they may be, and cutting off terrorists’ sources of financing is the right strategy and it must be pursued with vigor. But attacking the terrorists cannot be an exclusive strategy.

As we seek to destroy our terrorist enemies, the American people rightly demand that the government provide a greater level of protection from terrorist attacks than it did on September 11. Our homeland security must be comprehensive, effective, and proportionate to the threats we face. As the citizens of Bali, Istanbul, Riyadh, and Madrid have sadly learned, even when the terrorists are on the run, they can still kill. We must take whatever steps possible to stop them.

But even attacking and protecting against terrorists is not enough. To win the war on terror we must prevail in the battle of ideas. Ironically, it is on this battleground that the terrorists are at their weakest, but it is also where we are losing ground the most quickly. To win the war on terror, we need to take aggressive action to prevent the rise of future terrorists. We must do this through exercising non-

military aspects of American power: public diplomacy, economic development, trade, educational exchanges, stability operations, and democracy promotion. These parts of our arsenal are not as awesome as our weapons of war, but over the long run they are necessary to win over the hearts and minds of the populations that, right now, are fertile recruiting grounds for our enemies.

If we are honest with ourselves, we must admit that today we are far from winning the war on terror. Our attacks against the terrorist groups have been only a partial success. While many al-Qaeda leaders have been captured or killed, this has not diminished the lethality of the now semi-autonomous terrorist cells dispersed across the globe, as the deadly Madrid rail attacks demonstrated. One day, bin Laden and his chief lieutenants will be eliminated. That will be a great day for justice, but it will probably not have a practical effect on the long-term war against terror. For the war on terror is not about one man, or even one organization. To win the war on terror, we need an aggressive, robust set of military, diplomatic, and protective policies designed to suppress the growth and power of radical Islamic fundamentalism across the globe. Today, we are not executing such a strategy.

Attacking the Terrorists

Attacking the terrorists requires us to reform the intelligence agencies that failed to detect and prevent September 11, restructure parts of our Armed Forces so they are better suited to finding and capturing or killing terrorists, strengthen clandestine activities at the Central Intelligence Agency, transform the Federal Bureau of Investigation into an effective counterterrorism force, and develop strong domestic and international programs and policies to cut off terrorists' financing.

Remarkably, two and a half years after September 11, the intelligence bureaucracy that failed so miserably that day is relatively unchanged. Few of the bipartisan recommendations issued by the congressional intelligence committees following their joint inquiry into September 11 have been acted upon. To remedy these problems, we must create a "Director for National Intelligence" to coordinate the disparate agencies of the Intelligence Community, one who does not also serve as the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. We should also make the long term investments necessary to develop better human sources of intelligence on terrorist networks and to increase the language skills of agency personnel.

We are lacking an information sharing system suitable for fighting the war on terror. Such a system must be so technically advanced that once a person has been identified as a terrorist suspect that information is made available, in real time, to all our intelligence analysts, law enforcement, border security officials, and consular officers. The Terrorist Screening Center that is finally being developed after two years of foot dragging is not much more than a 24/7 call- in center. While a step in the right direction, it is not the advanced capability we need.

Likewise, despite the best intentions of some Pentagon reformers, our military has not yet been transformed to adapt to the new security environment of the 21st century. To do so, we need to double the Special Forces to 100,000 troops over the next decade, obtain weapons and technologies that are lighter, quicker, and stealthier in order to better track down and attack terrorist cells, and utilize covert strikes executed with speed and precision that are less likely than traditional military operations to provoke resentment against the United States and contribute to the recruitment of future terrorists. To promote partnerships that will make our offensive strategy more effective, we should develop both NATO Special Forces units and Joint Commando Forces with allies such as Turkey, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia. Joint, internationally sanctioned forces are necessary to provide consensus for rapid engagement of the enemy around the world.

With respect to terrorist financing, the immediate reaction to September 11 was swift and strong. But far more must be done to reinvigorate this effort and dig deeper into the network of cover organizations and financiers around the globe that continue to provide financial support for al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations. We need a national and international plan to crack down on *hawala* brokers who use informal transaction systems to circumvent anti-terrorism and money laundering rules.

To attack effectively a global network of terrorists through intelligence gathering, military operations, and financial regulation, we must have international partners. No foreign nation or international organization will ever have a veto over American security. But when we take military action, as part of the war on terror or in furtherance of other objectives, we must strive to do so in a way that promotes our long term interest in defeating the terrorists, and that means acting in a way that strengthens our partnerships with other countries.

In the aftermath of September 11, conditions were ripe for the creation of a global, long-term coalition against the terrorists; a coalition that would include not only our traditional allies, but critical countries in Asia and the Middle East where intelligence gathering and operational activities could make a real difference. But in the two and a half years since September 11, the goodwill of the world toward the United States has been diminished. In Afghanistan, we ignored the unprecedented NATO invocation of Article 5 of its charter stating that an attack against one member is an attack against the Alliance itself, in favor of a go-at-it-alone approach. And in Iraq, we insisted on invading at a time, place, and manner of our own choosing, when a broader coalition could have been achieved. Having exhibited disregard toward the international community, we now bear the principal burden in Iraq, attempting to quell an insurgency, reconstruct an economy, and develop viable political institutions.

While the absence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq has undermined the key and most compelling justification for the invasion of Iraq, let there be no doubt that failure to complete the task of stabilizing post-invasion Iraq will increase the threat of international terrorism. The full support of the world community is necessary to achieve peace and democracy in Iraq. Our success in achieving that support will determine whether we can build a foundation for success in the broader war on terror.

Protect the Homeland

Protecting the homeland is an essential part of a strategy to win the war on terror. Despite the glaring vulnerabilities that were exposed by the September 11 attacks, and despite the action of the President and Congress to create the Department of Homeland Security and take other actions in response to those attacks, America is not as safe as it needs to be in light of the terrorist threats we currently face.

The Administration's approach to homeland security has been strong on rhetoric and weak on action. America continues to face security gaps across the board. We are not prepared to deal with a major bioterror attack in the United States. Our aviation system is still not as secure as it needs to be and our commercial aircraft are highly vulnerable to attack from shoulder fired missiles. Our borders are still porous. We barely scrutinize the 20 million cargo containers that enter the United States each year, even though they could carry nuclear or radiological materials into the heart of America. Chemical manufacturing facilities have little meaningful security to prevent a release that could kill millions. Little has been done to provide greater security on our rail and transit systems, which are prime terrorist targets. Infrastructures upon which we depend (energy facilities, telecommunications, and financial networks) are vulnerable to both physical and cyber attacks. Law enforcement is still not receiving sufficient intelligence information to prevent terrorist attacks. First responders in our communities still do not have the equipment and training they need to properly protect us. And we do not have a government-wide

information technology architecture to facilitate real-time collection and dissemination of terrorist threat information.

One of the greatest threats we face comes from unsecured stockpiles of materials that could be used to create weapons of mass destruction. These materials are spread across the globe. Little is being done to prevent terrorists from getting their hands on them. A decade ago, Senators Nunn and Lugar had the foresight to draw the government's attention to this massive threat to our national security. Yet, the difficult job of securing these stockpiles has not been given the priority that current threats demand. To address this threat, America should lead a global alliance to secure all nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons materials in the former Soviet Union and beyond to prevent the catastrophic event that could occur if al-Qaeda operatives or their compatriots obtain access to them.

We also need a robust, aggressive strategy to close the security gaps we face at home. Our best scientists must be dedicated to developing vaccines and medicines to counteract a bioterror attack. We need new technologies and research methods to reduce from years to weeks the time it takes to develop drugs to treat new or bioengineered pathogens. Radiation portals should be positioned at every port of entry, right away, so no cargo container enters the United States without being screened for nuclear or radiological materials. All cargo that rides on passenger airlines should also be screened. Airliners must be equipped with anti-missile technology as soon as reasonable systems are available. Forces on our borders should be doubled and all our borders should be monitored 24/7. The Coast Guard needs modernized equipment this decade, not over 20 years from now as currently proposed. First responders must have modern communications equipment so they can talk to each other during emergencies. Our subways, commuter rails, and other transportation facilities need security cameras, communications equipment, chemical and biological sensors, and better emergency response plans. The thousands of chemical plants that threaten the safety of surrounding communities must undergo risk assessments and security improvements must be mandated. First responders across America need to have the equipment and training they need to respond to likely terrorist incidents in their communities.

The Administration has initiated partial or weak programs in many of these areas. But the terrorists will not wait for the implementation of a five-year, phased-in, gradual homeland security effort. Our enemies are plotting attacks against America now. We need to move much faster and much more aggressively in light of the imminent threats we face. The cost of these investments in security is small in comparison to the human and financial cost of failure.

Preventing the Rise of Future Terrorists

To defeat the terrorist organizations that threaten us, we must take bold steps to reverse the current dynamic where more terrorists are recruited every day than are detained or killed through our other efforts. Our troops can prevail on the battlefield, our intelligence agencies can identify terrorist cells, and our defensive measures can foil plots, but the long term key to our national security is isolating the radical Islamic extremists by presenting a competing and more powerful and positive vision of the future of the Middle East and the Muslim world. It must be a vision built in partnership with the people of the Middle East and supported by a global coalition with American leadership at the helm.

The population of the Arab world is now at 280 million, approximately equal to that of the United States. Over half of the entire Arab world is under 24 years of age. While a whole generation forms its worldview, opinion of the United States across the Muslim world is at an all-time low. A study by former Ambassador Edward Djerejian concluded that "hostility toward the United States has reached shocking levels." The Pew Research Center recently issued a survey showing that Osama bin Laden is supported

by 65 percent of Pakistanis and 55 percent of Jordanians. Shockingly, even in Turkey, a NATO ally and recent victim of terrorist violence, 31 percent say that “suicide attacks against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq are justifiable.”

One critical factor in world opinion about the United States is that large majorities in Muslim nations believe that we act internationally without taking into account the interests of other nations. According to the Pew Center, 79 percent of Turks and 77 percent of Jordanians believe that the United States “pays little or no attention to their country’s interests in making foreign policy decisions.”

If we are to win the war on terror in our lifetimes, this perception of the United States has to change. To win the war, we must convince the world, especially Arabs and Muslims, that our fight is their fight too.

The problem is, we are not doing this now. As the world’s sole superpower, we must be cognizant of the resentment our status engenders. Phrases like “shock and awe,” and “either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists” contribute to this resentment and work counter to our interests. A foreign policy based on these terms will not bring us much success in the effort to halt the rise of future terrorists.

While we are encouraging other nations to take strong action against terrorist organizations, at the same time we also need to be taking proactive efforts to demonstrate to people across the globe that we are a force for positive change in their lives. We need to show them that we care about the same things they care about – better jobs, better schools for their children, better health care, and better roads, housing, and water.

To change the tide in our long term war against terror, the United States, together with our allies should make a dramatic and massive commitment, on the scale of the Marshall Plan, to the future of Arab and Muslim children and to the economic prosperity of all people in the Middle East. The original Marshall Plan led to the longest period of peace and prosperity in European history and the creation of a united Europe, whole and free. Americans were never again sent to die on the battlefields of Europe, but instead have expanded the community of free nations and strengthened our own security.

The challenges we face today require a vision just as grand. We should lead a global effort that will help revolutionize educational opportunities and economic development in the Arab and Muslim world. To get children out of *madrassas* that preach hate and venom against the West and modern values, we should create a global alliance to build high quality, secular schools in Arab countries that agree to double their own investment in public education. We should create a “Renaissance Partnership” to create free-market economies in the Middle East. Under this plan, countries that accept open trade standards, agree to form a Middle East Common Market, and develop transparent financial institutions would qualify for billions in assistance to create technology infrastructure, small businesses, and other entrepreneurial enterprises. And we should triple support for the National Endowment for Democracy to support moderate voices throughout the Islamic world such as independent media, small business federations, democratic political movements, and civic organizations.

These initiatives should be big, so people can feel their impact and understand that the United States cares about improving their lives. And while expensive, these programs are small investments compared to the cost of military actions and their aftermath, or further terrorist attacks on our homeland.

No matter how bold these initiatives are, they will have little impact unless we succeed in our mission to stabilize and reconstruct Iraq. The stakes could not be higher. The Arab world was hostile to the Administration’s argument for war even when it relied on claims that Saddam Hussein had weapons

of mass destruction and harbored terrorists. Now that those claims have been undermined, the credibility and standing of the United States in the Middle East is on the line as never before. Failure is not an option. Iraq must be stabilized. Its economy must be restored. Political institutions must be developed. And the Iraqi people must be provided hope for a better future. If this political and economic development does not occur, then the perception within the Muslim world will be that the United States pursued an illegitimate war of aggression against an Arab country and left it in a worse condition than it was found. Not only would Iraq become a haven for the enemy terrorists, an ironic and tragic result, but the injustice of the war would become a rallying cry and recruitment tool for the radical fundamentalist movement that we are trying to defeat. If we succeed, Iraq can be the beginning of an effort to reshape the Middle East in line with our long-term strategic interests.

Prior to its invasion, Iraq was not a battleground in the war on terror. It is now. We must succeed.

Leading the Country and the World in the War on Terror

Implementing an effective strategy to win the war on terror will require strong and visionary leadership. We must take decisive, forceful actions, but must do so in a way that sustains the partnerships with other countries that are necessary for success. And we must have the courage to advocate for domestic and international financial support to the very parts of the world from which our deepest enemies have arisen.

It takes strong leadership to build international support for our actions rather than “going at it alone.” It takes strong leadership to convince other countries to work with us in combating the terrorists rather than labeling them as either “with us” or “against us.” It takes strong leadership to tell the American people that we are not as safe as we need to be.

Finally, it takes strong leadership to ask Americans to make sacrifices for their country. This is the first war in our history in which our soldiers are fighting, but those at home are not being asked to make sacrifices in their own lives. During World War II, every American was called upon to sacrifice: from the troops who served, to the housewives who rationed, to the citizens whose taxes were raised to pay for the war. Today, our young people should be encouraged to give a year of their lives to public service, either in the Armed Forces, National Guard, AmeriCorps, or the Peace Corps. Our leaders should also be telling the American people, candidly and frankly, that winning the war on terror will cost a great deal of money, and that all Americans are going to have to make sacrifices to achieve victory. Right now, we are failing to make the investments needed to win this war and its costs are being passed on to future generations.

To win the war on terror, we need bold, principled, and enlightened leadership to execute a well conceived and comprehensive strategy. Our great nation has always risen to the challenges that history has presented, and we will do so once again.

*Representative Jim Turner, (D-TX)
Ranking Member
U.S. House Select Committee on Homeland Security*

WINNING THE WAR ON TERROR

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

ATTACKING THE TERRORISTS

Create a Fully Unified Terrorist Watch List

The Administration should ensure that the government, by no later than the end of this year, creates a fully unified terrorist watch list that is electronically accessible by law enforcement, border agents, and consular officers so they can be advise in real time whether specific individuals are known or suspected terrorists.

Coordinate the Agencies of the Intelligence Community by Creating the Post of Director for National Intelligence

The Director of National Intelligence should be the President's principal advisor on intelligence and have the full range of management, budgetary and personnel responsibilities needed to make the entire U.S. Intelligence Community operate as a coherent whole. No person should be permitted to serve as both the DNI and head of any other agency at the same time.

Improve Human Intelligence Capabilities

All agencies involved in collecting HUMINT against al-Qaeda and other counterterrorism targets should be provided with sufficient incentives and large increases in resources to improve HUMINT collection in order to carry out more effective surveillance, infiltration, and disruption of terrorist networks.

Integrate Intelligence

Within a year, the Intelligence Community should present a plan to the Director of National Intelligence, within a one year time frame, that provides solutions to overcome current technological and organizational challenges that hinder the full integration of all forms of intelligence. In particular, the Administration should take prompt action to hire the personnel necessary to fully staff IAIP and TTIC and fulfill their diverse duties.

Promote "Jointness" Within the Intelligence Community

The Director of National Intelligence should require "joint tours" for intelligence and appropriate law enforcement personnel to broaden their experience and bridge organizational and cultural divides through service in other agencies. Joint tours would include service at Intelligence Agencies and in those agencies that are consumers of intelligence products. The DNI should also require Intelligence Community agencies to participate in joint exercises. Personnel should be rewarded for joint service with career advancement credit, such as incentive pay and fast track promotion potential, especially for officers agreeing to serve at TTIC. TTIC needs to be highlighted as a premier posting, not an assignment likely to delay career advancement.

Increase the Language Skills of Intelligence Analysts and Case Officers

Intelligence agencies must increase the number of employees who are fluent in the “campaign languages” to the point where 100 percent of all information collected can be processed on a real-time basis.

Promote International Intelligence Cooperation

The Director of National Intelligence should place as one of the highest priorities of the Intelligence Community the establishment of new and strengthening of existing relationships between U.S. intelligence agencies and those of other nations. Joint training and exchanges should be encouraged to solidify and expand these critical relationships.

Accelerate the Pace of Military Transformation

The United States should double its commitment to military transformation by providing incentives to those who are part of joint operations and ensure that within the next ten years- up to 35 percent of the Defense Department’s acquisitions are for transformational programs.

Support the Transformation of Land Forces

The Secretary of Defense should improve the readiness, training and deployment ability of Army forces by supporting, consistent with the U.S. Army’s goals– a new force structure of 48 brigades. By upgrading airlift capability with new C-17’s and C-5’s, U.S. Army forces should be fully operational and able to project American power anywhere in the world within ten days.

Boost Naval Transformation

The Navy should accelerate its transformation with its “Sea Power 21” concept that consists of three main elements- Sea Strike, Sea Shield and Sea Basing:

- *Sea Strike- projecting offensive power from the sea in support of joint operations. This involves time sensitive strikes carried out using real-time intelligence linked to precision weapons. Sea Strike allows Marines to strike over the horizon at deep inland objectives without having to establish a beachhead;*
 - *Sea Shield- using naval assets to provide a defensive umbrella to assure allies and protect the homeland with systems like updated Aegis cruisers; and*
 - *Sea Basing- creating at sea accessible cargo on pre-positioning ships that greatly reduces the need for foreign seaports. It explores the idea of flying crews home for their rotations to keep combat power in the field.*
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Promote Air Force Transformation

The Air Force should be encouraged to continue its transformation by acquiring more unmanned aerial vehicles for combat such as the Predator and Predator B, improving GPS precision guided munitions, more rapidly deploying stealth technology on aircraft, supporting and improving the Multi-Mission Command and Control Aircraft (M2C2A), and increasing airlift capacity to meet the needs of a global reach, global strike military.

Create a Joint Defense National Training Center

The Secretary of Defense should strengthen and expand the efforts of the Joint Forces Command in Norfolk, VA and create a permanent “Joint Defense-wide National Training Center” at which the development of doctrine will evolve out of continuous exercises and information sharing.

Increase the U.S. Army Endstrength by 60,000

The United States Army should increase its manpower by 60,000 in order to create new units for the demands of the war on terror and to meet existing, more conventional threats. Particular emphasis should be placed on strengthening the Special Forces and stability operations units. Stability Operations troops include soldiers specially trained for the aftermath of war such as military police, civil affairs and engineers.

Double U.S. Special Forces to 100,000 Troops

The United States should commit to doubling the number of special operations and special operations-capable forces and increase the total to 100,000 troops over the next ten years.

This goal can be reached by increasing core Special Operations Forces by 25,000 troops and intensifying the training and strengthening the capabilities of 25,000 U.S. Marines to make them special forces-capable. Elements of this strengthened force could include:

- *Five new SEAL teams and associated support elements*
 - *Six new Army Special Forces Battalion equivalents*
 - *Increased Dedicated Aircraft Capability to Deploy SOF*
 - *Deployment of the “Next Generation Gunship” to replace AC-130’s*
 - *Increase civil affairs, psychological operations and instructor personnel*
 - *Shift to four-month, instead of six-month, deployment schedule*
 - *Increase Military-to-Military Training Exercises with U.S. Allies*
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Create NATO Special Forces Units

The United States should take the lead in proposing “NATO Special Forces Units,” which would consist of upwards of five Battalions (units made up of 800 troops), comprised of forces from all NATO states. NATO Special Forces Units would receive the best training and equipment in the Alliance and be ready for instant deployment worldwide.

Joint Commando Forces with Turkey, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia

The United States should seek to form joint commando forces with key partners to pursue al-Qaeda and search for Osama Bin Laden. Ideally, partners would include Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Pakistan, to the extent that host governments permit such activities. High level military-to-military exchanges, training, and joint exercises should also be pursued to solidify key alliances in the war on terror.

CIA Special Activities

The Special Activities Division of the CIA should be strengthened and given the resources necessary to develop special “terrorist hunter” teams. These teams would integrate Special Operations Forces and host nation intelligence officers and CIA operatives. These units would be created and deployed wherever key terrorist groups and cells are located.

Speed Pace of FBI Reforms

Special Agents in Charge (SACs) of Bureau field offices should be required to have experience in intelligence gathering and sufficient knowledge of intelligence matters to precisely focus analysis and collection against the terrorist target. In addition, a system for properly vetting intelligence sources must be initiated without delay.

Improve Information Sharing

Provisions of the USA Patriot Act that removed barriers to information sharing among federal agencies should be extended after careful review by the Congress. Strong oversight over homeland security intelligence must be conducted to ensure that new bureaucratic structures are resulting in genuine improvements in intelligence sharing. The respective missions of organizations with responsibilities for counterterrorism intelligence collection, analysis, and operations must be clearly defined and carefully coordinated.

Share Information with Local Law Enforcement

The Department of Homeland Security and the FBI, which are both currently responsible for communicating with state and local law enforcement officials, must establish a clear mechanism and delineate responsibilities for sharing information.

Hire Additional Agents for Counterterrorism

The FBI should increase the number of its field agents by 50% over the next ten years and receive the resources to effectively deploy them in the field. This means approximately 550 new agents each year.

Create an International Financial Anti-Terrorism Center (IFAC)

The United States should lead an effort by the nations of the Organisation of Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) to establish a specialized international organization dedicated solely to combating terrorist financing in a renewed effort to disrupt international terrorist financing networks.

This organization's activities should include intelligence, information sharing, and forensic banking investigations. An International Financial Anti-Terrorism Center (IFAC) should establish and maintain a database to which suspicious transaction report could be referred or verified by the international banking community.

Establish Financial Standards for Charities and NGOs

The IFAC should establish strong international standards on how governments regulate charitable organizations and their fundraising. The IFAC would also develop a "white list" of international charities and financial institutions that commit to the highest due diligence and anti-money laundering procedures.

Requirements should be imposed to assure that, to the greatest extent possible, charities route their transactions through established banking systems. In such cases, the recipient organization should be required to maintain a bank account and to transact business through verifiable means, such as checks and electronic transfers.

Close Down Al-Qaeda's Major Known Funding Sources

The United States should reach bilateral agreements with the critical countries where al-Qaeda has established sources of funding, or which serve as key transit points for movement of such funds. Special attention should be paid to Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, and other Persian Gulf States. This support should include U.S. investigative assistance, particularly in the areas of financial investigations and forensic banking. The U.S. should seek the support of the World Bank and United Nations in this effort.

Register Hawala Brokers

The Treasury Department, working with the Department of Homeland Security's Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, should take the lead in developing a national plan to ensure the registration and lawful operation of hawaladars in the United States. A force of at least 100 new agents should be assigned solely to this mission.

The United States should press the World Bank and other international agencies to establish working groups to develop international standards for registering and regulating hawala operations.

Increase U.S. Assistance For International Action

The Secretary of the Treasury should receive at least \$25 million to strengthen the capacities of our international partners in stopping the flow of funds to terrorist organizations.

Link International Aid to Financial Accountability

The United States should encourage international organizations such as the IMF, the World Bank, and appropriate U.N. Agencies to develop and consult a "white list" of financial institutions that value accountability and transparency before making decisions on international aid.

NATO Expansion

To secure the gains of the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe and extend the zone of peace and collective security that comes with NATO membership, the United States should support the expansion of NATO to secure the southeastern flank of the Alliance. Assuming they meet NATO membership criteria, Croatia, Macedonia, and Albania should be brought into the Alliance in 2007. Bosnia, Moldova, and the Ukraine could follow in 2010.

Support for a United Europe

The United States should support and encourage the integration of Turkey and the Balkans into the European Union. This would send a powerful message to the world, that the sixty million Muslim citizens of Turkey, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Albania will be welcomed into the zone of peace and prosperity that is the European Union.

PROTECTING THE HOMELAND

Secure All Unprotected Nuclear Material

The United States should lead an effort through the International Atomic Energy Agency, to secure all nuclear material locations outside the U.S. and Russia in the next two years. Armed guards, electronic surveillance, and layered barriers and defenses would be employed.

The United States should lead an effort with our G-8 partners to remove all nuclear material from vulnerable sites outside Russia within the next five years. Such an effort could be accomplished for under \$50 million a year.

The United States, along with its Global Partners, should secure all weapons grade nuclear material in Russia and the states of the former Soviet Union within the next five years. This requires a committed, aggressive effort to eliminate the access and liability barriers to securing this material.

The United States should meet the goals of the Baker-Cutler Commission and triple the resources spent to improve nuclear security.

Strengthen Counterproliferation Efforts

The unraveling of Pakistani scientist A.Q. Khan's nuclear smuggling network has revealed that the spread of nuclear weapons expertise and development equipment is a problem of global proportions. The absence of an international legal regime to constrain such activities badly complicates efforts to penalize proliferators such as A.Q. Khan and his partners. Under an international legal regime requiring transparency, Khan's network and recipient states would have put themselves in jeopardy of capture and prosecution by any state in the world when they failed to disclose their activities. To deter, protect against, and punish proliferators, the United States must work with the rest of the international community to develop laws with universal jurisdiction that enable enforcers to reach anywhere that dangers arise.

Criminalize Nuclear Smuggling

The United States should take the lead in proposing a new international convention that will facilitate the detection, interdiction, and enforcement against individuals, corporations and states that might engage in illicit acquisition, possession, development, and trafficking of nuclear weapons related materials, equipment, and know-how. Such a Convention would criminalize transfer or trade in nuclear weapons components and require a declaration system for legitimate trade across state borders while rendering undeclared trade illegal.

Develop an International Strike Force to Hunt Nuclear Traffickers

The United States should support the creation of a 50 person international law enforcement unit to track nuclear smugglers.

Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)

The United States should encourage every NATO state to sign on to the Proliferation Security Initiative and use NATO's training, exercise and planning structure to enhance PSI's operational capability. Further, PSI membership should be open to non-NATO countries and China and Russia should be encouraged to participate.

Strengthen Domestic Inspection of “Dirty Bomb” Materials

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission should increase the inspections of users of the most radioactive materials.

Secure Disused Sources

The Department of Energy should secure ten thousand disused radioactive sources of cesium, strontium and plutonium in the next two years.

International Action

The United States should strengthen the International Atomic Energy Agency to offer regulatory and security assistance to the 50 non-members states that lack security and regulatory infrastructure for radioactive sources.

Destroy Chemical Weapons Stockpiles

The United States should lead by example by improving its efforts to eliminate its own chemical weapons stockpiles on time. It should also promote an international effort to destroy all chemical weapons worldwide in the next six years. The U.S. should offer all technical and financial assistance necessary to locate, secure and destroy stockpiles of chemical weapons globally. As part of this assistance package, nations receiving assistance will be asked to support a sanctions regime against any and all nations refusing to join the Chemical Weapons Convention.

Prevent Terrorists From Obtaining Biological Weapons

The United States must lead an effort to put enforcement provisions in the Biological Weapons Convention and develop international controls on pathogen research and trade. Technology to help detect and prevent weaponization should be developed and distributed to support enforcement. The U.S. should work with nations who agree to these enhanced protections to provide comprehensive vaccine stockpiles for their populations and improve their infectious disease surveillance capacity. The United States should work to strengthen the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program to secure foreign stockpiles of bioweapons, and champion standardized, international controls on the storage, sale and transport of dangerous pathogens.

Protect Against Bioterrorism By Developing New Cures and Technologies

The United States should harness the innovation of the private sector and the power of the federal government in an effort akin to the “Manhattan Project” to develop effective treatments for the most dangerous diseases in the world. The federal government should develop the capacity to produce new, safe, and effective diagnostics, vaccines, and drugs against the most virulent pathogens to protect our citizens against bioterrorism and other serious infectious disease threats. Federally-funded venture capital and “virtual” drug development firms should be established to develop and utilize the best public, private, and academic scientific and technological capabilities to counter microbial threats.

The U.S. should embark on a long term research program aimed at dramatically shortening the time between the detection and identification of a new pathogen and the production of effective countermeasures to protect health. The “bug to drug” cycle should be shortened from years to a matter of weeks.

Prepare To Respond to Bioterror Attack by Building a Strong Biodefense System

A comprehensive National Biodefense Plan should be developed and implemented that defines roles and responsibilities for relevant federal, state, local, and private institutions and identifies and provides crucial capabilities required for effective preparedness.

A National Health Tracking Initiative should be launched that establishes regional and national centers for the integration of laboratory, clinical, pharmacy, and other data relevant to monitoring population health. Connected to the Centers for Disease Control’s Health Alert Network, these centers would provide an early-warning system for signs of infectious disease outbreaks.

The U.S. should lead international cooperative efforts in infectious disease surveillance, detection, and containment. The United States should also work through the World Health Organization to support units that can deploy anywhere in the world within 24 hours for emergency response to infectious diseases.

Strengthening the public health infrastructure must be a primary focus of our biodefense strategy and the National Biodefense Plan should help define where to target significantly increased and sustained new investments. Every hospital in the United States should receive the specialized tools necessary to diagnose and respond to biological attacks. Regional planning efforts for surge capacity should be initiated. Additionally, the federal government should consider mothballing Veterans Administration hospitals that are scheduled for closure and prepare them for use as mass casualty facilities during an emergency.

Increase Patrols and Inspectors on Our Borders

The United States should increase the number of border inspectors and border patrol agents by 3,300 over the next four years. Staff should be allocated based on a national threat and vulnerability assessment to prioritize the threats facing our land borders and areas between our ports of entry.

Monitor Every Mile of the Border 24/7

The Department of Homeland Security must deploy innovative technologies to ensure that every mile of our land border is monitored.

Develop a Border Management System that Enhances Homeland Security and Facilitates

Legitimate Travel and Trade

The Administration should invest in adequate highways and access roads to the border, expanded inspection areas where possible, and additional inspections personnel and technology. The Administration should also move quickly to push out our border through the expansion of pre-clearance programs at our land borders and at our airports overseas. Lastly, the thousands of miles between our ports remain vulnerable unless we make necessary investments in law enforcement personnel and technology.

Strengthen the Coast Guard

We should turn the Coast Guard into a 21st century force by increasing its manpower and firepower to match its mission. Congress should increase the Coast Guard's strength by 15 percent to turn it into a maritime force that is 50,000 strong. We should also accelerate the upgrading of frontline ships and planes (Project Deepwater) so that the new force is ready in the next ten years rather than the current pace of twenty years.

Check Cargo for Weapons of Mass Destruction

Technology should be deployed to each sea and land port of entry to enable 100 percent of all cargo containers entering the United States to be screened for nuclear and radiological materials without engaging in cumbersome physical inspections that will slow commerce.

Implement Port Security Plans

Ports must receive the resources they need to improve their security.

Protect Passenger Planes from Missile Attack

The Department of Homeland Security must accelerate research for on board anti-missile technology for passenger aircraft, improve perimeter security, and deploy missile defenses as warranted by the threat as soon as technically feasible. Additionally, the Administration should pursue international programs to counter the proliferation of these missile systems and train border inspectors to prevent their entry into the United States.

Screen All Cargo on Passenger Planes

The Department of Homeland Security should establish a physical screening process for all cargo placed on passenger planes.

Screen All Baggage on Passenger Planes

The Department of Homeland should comply with the legal mandate for 100 percent electronic screening of baggage.

Passenger Rail and Transit Security

The Administration should increase grant funding for passenger rail and transit by fivefold to \$250 million in fiscal year 2004 to provide a down payment on enhancing security for passenger rail and transit throughout the United States.

Establish Clear Leadership on Ensuring Rail/Transit Security

DHS should develop a national transportation security strategy to help stakeholders set priorities, leverage resources, establish performance expectations, and create incentives for stakeholder to improve security.

The DHS Secretary should work with Secretary of Transportation to develop a risk-based plan that specifically addresses the security of the nation's rail and transit infrastructure and establish time frames for implementing specific security actions.

Require Chemical Facilities to Assess and Address Security Vulnerabilities

Congress should require all facilities that may pose a substantial danger to conduct vulnerability assessments, develop security plans to address vulnerabilities, and implement them. Federal standards setting, oversight, inspection, and strong enforcement authority by DHS and EPA would ensure compliance. Vulnerability assessments and security plans should be reviewed by government officials to ensure compliance and provide oversight. The pooling and sharing of information about security practices will assist government, industry, and first responders in constantly improving security and emergency response strategies.

Improve Security by Promoting Inherently Safer Technologies

Chemical producers and users should be required to consider using IST or other “alternative approaches” that can make a chemical or chemical process less hazardous. Information regarding the economic and technological barriers to its adoption to improve security should be collected and, with the leadership of EPA, an analysis undertaken that will identify opportunities across the industry where IST can improve security and suggest areas for research that will enhance IST and its adoption in the future.

Strengthen Border and Facility Inspections on Agriculture

Well-trained inspectors at airports, seaports, and land crossings are essential, and DHS should seek full and stable staffing of these positions. The inspection workforce of the USDA and FDA needs to be boosted to increase inspections to ensure compliance, but these resources cannot be increased indefinitely. The federal government should develop a program to train state and local inspectors to recognize exotic animal and crop diseases, the signs of terrorism, and understand biosecurity best practices. The job of all inspectors will be made much easier with rapid, sensitive diagnostic techniques for pathogens. The development of such devices and techniques must be a priority. A nationwide electronic livestock identification system should be deployed that is capable of tracing, within 48 hours, an individual animal from birth to slaughter.

Enhance Detection of Agro-Terrorism

Active surveillance of food-borne illnesses, particularly those caused by pathogens likely to be intentionally introduced, must be expanded more quickly. Ultimately, a nationwide program should be employed. Rapid, clinical diagnostic tools for major food supply threat agents should be developed and supplied to practitioners. Results from food sampling and inspection data need to be further integrated into food-borne surveillance systems. This effort, combined with targeted research, will enhance already widely practiced safety assurance methods to detect intentional food contamination.

Prepare a National Agro-terror Response Plan

The Department of Homeland Security should lead in developing a comprehensive national strategy to prevent and respond to acts of terrorism against the nation’s food supply and thwart the entry of harmful agents into the U.S. that would threaten our agricultural sector. Plans must include a strategic stockpile of animal vaccines, antibiotics, and insecticides, as well a rapid-reaction reserve of veterinary and plant pathologists who can respond to combat a serious outbreak. The sequencing of likely pathogen genomes should take on a high priority and these

data should be applied to a vigorous program in animal vaccine and drug development and genetically resistant crop science.

Create Cybersecurity Crisis Center

The challenges of protecting our critical networks and infrastructures require a new paradigm of government and industry leadership for addressing a crisis as it emerges. What is needed is a National Crisis Coordination Center that could house within a single physical facility critical infrastructure sector representatives, and federal, state, and local government agencies. This center would be multi-agency and include all agencies tasked with responsibilities relating to responding to attacks on our critical networks. At the same time, the center would house private sector representatives so that those who own and operate 85% of the infrastructures would be available in the event of a cyber “9-11.” Such a center could bring together the best of the federal government and private sector.

Make Cybersecurity A Priority

We cannot continue to wait to protect our computer networks. We should move forward to meet the challenges presented by modern technology and eliminate the weakest links in our networks. We should develop a culture of security within our computer networks and among our citizens to ensure our national security. We need leadership within the government to assure that the United States is ready for attacks on our computer systems, especially in a time of crisis. If we do not take action, we leave our nation at risk.

Prepare for Information Warfare

The emergence of technology has made information warfare a viable threat. Not only must the United States protect its infrastructures, it must assure the availability and integrity of the information contained on them.

Complete National Critical Infrastructure Risk Assessment in One Year

The DHS should, in coordination with other public and private partners, assemble within one year an initial/draft national critical-infrastructure risk assessment. Such an assessment should include a full assessment of threats, vulnerabilities, and consequences, and leverage, to the fullest extent possible, already existing risk assessments that have been performed by many states, infrastructure sectors, and federal agencies. The study should be updated and improved on an annual basis. In addition, the Congress should establish an Independent Commission to assess critical-infrastructure security and suggest strategies for the protection of the nation’s critical infrastructures.

Provide Incentives to Promote Investments in Infrastructure Security

The Administration should promote smart investments in critical infrastructures to improve both security and overall reliability, making critical infrastructures less vulnerable to potential disruption, whether terrorism-related or not. The Administration should use all the policy tools at its disposal to change the structure of incentives to increase the security of critical infrastructure in the United States, including tax incentives, promotion of terrorism insurance and other commercial products, and work with owners of critical infrastructure, as necessary, to

ensure a minimum regulatory framework that helps promote security in each of the critical infrastructure sectors without placing unreasonable burdens on business owners.

Improve Information Sharing between Government and Owners
of Critical Infrastructure

The DHS must dramatically improve information sharing by clearly defining roles and responsibilities, improving outreach and coordination, building robust institutions, better leveraging available technology, and strengthening accountability.

Develop a Comprehensive National CIP Protection Plan

This plan would facilitate critical-infrastructure-protection information sharing that clearly defines roles and responsibilities of the Department of Homeland Security, other federal agencies, state and local governments, and private owners of critical infrastructure before, during, and after an attack on critical infrastructures. Establish comprehensive procedures for information sharing.

Create Metrics for Measuring Progress in Infrastructure Protection

The Administration should follow the recommendation of the Gilmore Commission that DHS “develop metrics for describing infrastructure security in meaningful terms, and to determine the adequacy of preparedness.” The DHS should prepare an annual report card which assesses the state of preparedness of each of the critical infrastructure sectors against specific performance metrics. In addition, DHS should grant annual awards recognizing significant improvements or achievements in critical-infrastructure protection. Such programs can be a powerful tool for government to motivate private sector actors to enhance infrastructure security, as the public-relations impact of such assessments can be significant.

Arming First Responders with the Tools They Need

Determine the preparedness needs of our communities—including equipment, personnel, training, planning, and exercises—for firefighting, law enforcement, emergency medical services, public health, medical capabilities, and emergency management, that are flexible enough to be utilized for a wide range of threats and vulnerabilities. Create a Terrorism Preparedness Grant Program that will fund these needs, and get needed equipment and training in the hands of the police, firefighters and emergency personnel who will be the first on the scene of an attack.

Enable First Responders to Communicate

Enhance interoperable communications and allow first responders to take effective and coordinated action by deploying nationwide more cost-effective and efficient solutions to achieve radio system interoperability in the near future, utilizing available solutions that take advantage of the existing communications infrastructures within our states and localities. Centralize the administration of interoperable communications research, standards development, and grant management within DHS.

Expand Urban Search and Rescue Teams

The Department of Homeland Security should set a response standard that mandates the ability to provide US&R Task Force assistance to every community in the nation within six hours of a terrorist incident or natural disaster.

Deploy Defenses for a Chemical Attack

Firefighters, police officers, and EMTs must be equipped with appropriate and effective protective gear to respond to a contaminated area. Where effective antidotes exist, every ambulance crew in the nation should be equipped with the supplies and training to treat victims at the scene. When new tools are needed, the development and licensing of antidotes for potential chemical agents and toxins should be vigorously pursued.

Supporting Second Responders

The Department of Homeland Security should support the development of “Second Responder” initiatives in all fifty states.

Enhance National Guard’s Homeland Security Mission

All Army and Air National Guard personnel should be trained and equipped with an enhanced focus on consequence management in the event of a major terrorist attack. The Guard should specifically prepare for assuming the lead military role in consequence management in case of a terrorist attack using nuclear, biological, chemical or radiological weapons in the United States. This will ensure that Guard personnel, who are not deployed overseas, will be able to respond in the event of a terrorist attack.

Provide the United States with Regional National Guard WMD Response Units

The United States should have eight to ten Rapid Response Regional Civil Support Teams capable of responding to a WMD terrorist attack within 4 hours. The teams should have both diagnostic expertise and the ability to support the efforts of first responders following a WMD incident.

Conduct Annual Homeland Security Training and Exercises for Guard Units

Every National Guard unit should conduct annual full-scale exercises centering on its homeland security mission. The Guard units should coordinate their training, activities and planning with state and local first responders.

Scrutinize Emerging Technologies

The federal government should convene a Privacy Commission to develop and issue clear, public guidelines governing the use of emerging technologies that have privacy and civil liberties implications. The Commission should also recommend rules to govern the collection, retention, and dissemination of information, including information provided by the private sector.

Review USA Patriot Act

A thorough review of the USA Patriot Act should be undertaken in the next session of Congress. Agencies should be required to explain how they use the powers granted to them and how these authorities contribute to the war on terror. Provisions that Congress determines have made a positive contribution to the government's counterterrorism efforts should be extended. Provisions that are rarely, if ever, used, and have had the effect of undermining public confidence in our law enforcement agencies, should be considered for repeal.

PREVENTING THE RISE OF FUTURE TERRORISTS

Increasing Arab Speaking U.S. Diplomats

The State Department should hire and train an additional 500 Arabic speakers over the next three years. These individuals would be deployed to represent the United States and debate issues in the Arab media and in other public forums. Special attention should be focused on recruiting from the Arab-American community.

Supporting the Voices of Moderation

The United States should create a non-profit "Corporation for Public Diplomacy." The organization, supported by both private and U.S. government funds, would make grants to individual producers and independent, indigenous media channels with the goal of creating and disseminating high quality programming to the Arab and Muslim world.

Build American Cultural Centers

The State Department should commit to the creation and operation of 100 American Corners throughout the Arab and Muslim world, easily accessible to the public and staffed by U.S. Arabic-speaking diplomats and local citizens.

Double Exchange Program Visitors from the Muslim World

The U.S. Government should double the number of exchange program visitors that come from the Arab-Muslim world.

Build an Alumni Database for Exchange Program Participants

The State Department should create a database of all foreign national participants in U.S.-funded exchange programs and ensure that the senior public affairs officer at each post is given the resources necessary to develop monthly programs to keep alumni connected to and informed about the United States.

Center for U.S.- Arab / Muslim Studies

The United States should create and sustain a “Center for U.S.-Arab / Muslim Studies.” The Center would sponsor research that would encompass many subjects including trade, economics, democratic governance, and security issues. The Center would maintain an extensive program of international fellowships and conferences.

Establish a Public Diplomacy Reserve Corps

The Public Diplomacy Reserve Corps would recruit prestigious private sector experts from relevant professions for short-term assignments. The Corps would augment overseas operations by offering individuals the opportunity to serve on short-term projects.

Fully Engage In Resolving Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

While the strategic partnership between the United States and Israel endures and strengthens, it is critical that the United States be fully engaged, at the highest levels of government, on a consistent and constant basis, in the search for a resolution to this tragic conflict. Our experience over the past three years has demonstrated one certainty: in the absence of discussions and diplomacy, violence fills the vacuum, causing power to shift away from voices of moderation and toward our enemies and those affiliated with them.

Global Alliance for Arab Children

The United States should organize an international donor’s conference, and pledge a total of \$10 billion over 10 years – to be matched by the EU, Japan, Canada, and the Gulf States – for an Arab Youth Opportunity Fund. Funds will be spent directly for operation of primary and secondary secular schools in Arab states that commit to doubling their investment in public education over the course of ten years.

University Scholarships for Arab / Muslim Youth

The United States should offer 1,000 university scholarships a year for promising students from Arab / Muslim states who commit to returning home upon completion of their studies. We should also challenge the Gulf States to offer an equal number of scholarships for American students to study in the Middle East. The U.S. should work with our Canadian allies to coordinate and expand this effort.

American Knowledge Library Initiative

The United States should undertake a massive translation program of thousands of the best books in numerous fields into Arabic and other languages of the Middle East. Recommendations would come from boards of academics in a variety of fields including history, business, economics, sociology, and the hard sciences. These books would be distributed to libraries as well as marketed through local partners. They would also be housed in “American Cultural Centers” and made available to all universities and high schools. The cost of translation is roughly \$5000 per book, making this an important investment in building secular education in the Arab / Muslim world.

City to City Exchanges

The State Department should set a goal of facilitating the establishment of 100 “sister city” programs between American communities and those in the Arab/Islamic world. The programs would emphasize links between educators, students, cultural, and professional groups. Efforts

would be encouraged to establish formal links and exchanges between universities in the U.S. and the Middle East.

The Renaissance Partnership

The United States would lead the effort by pledging up to \$100 billion over 10 years for the Renaissance Partnership. We would call on all the nations of the European Union, the G-8, the OECD, and wealthy Gulf States to join in the effort by matching the American pledge. The level of American support would be conditioned on the Allies matching our challenge.

Set Standards for Performance

One of the keys to success of the Marshall Plan was that the acceptance of funds was tied to developing regional economic cooperation. The United States should expect results from the Partnership that would create the economic growth that leads to long-term stability and peace. Before funds are distributed, partner states in the Middle East must agree, in treaty form, to meet the following standards: transparency of accounts on all projects accepting RP funds; accepting open trade standards by becoming eligible for WTO membership; forming a Middle Eastern Common Market patterned on the early European Community; and open membership for all regional states in the Middle Eastern Common Market.

Set Priorities with the Arab States

One of the central facets of the Marshall Plan was the requirement that European countries work together to devise a plan for economic reconstruction. As Marshall said, "It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe."

The RP contributor states would work with recipient states to identify specific projects that should receive funding. Priority would go to projects that develop an entrepreneurial culture and build a middle class. Examples are: developing technology infrastructure, micro-credit financing, small business loans, teaching business skills, women's education, and building anti-corruption units in law enforcement.

Publicize the Work of USAID

The development assistance provided by the United States to the people of the Arab/ Muslim world should be widely publicized in those nations. Muslims should see American values in action in their daily lives.

Finish the Job in Afghanistan

The United States should support the expansion of a NATO-led ISAF mission to encompass all of Afghanistan. The new ISAF should have at its core 25,000 U.S. troops that would be matched by 25,000 from NATO partners. The United States would also provide air transport for ISAF, making it a highly mobile force. Additionally, the United States should channel its aid assistance through the Karzai regime, rather than around it (Currently, 84 percent of aid to Afghanistan is delivered through foreign donor agencies.), so that the central government can gain resources and establish local control.

Secure Iraq: Transform U.S Military Mission to a NATO Mission

We can ask for and expect troop commitments from our Allies if we share daily operational control of Iraqi affairs with them, and turn the occupation into a NATO mission. An American general would remain in charge of the operation, but would report to the NATO Council, the same situation in which U.S. General Wesley Clark led our forces to victory in Kosovo.

Secure Loose Iraqi Ammunition

U.S. forces must destroy that ammunition immediately or else secure it with surveillance technology and armed guards.

The U.S. Reconstruction Corps

A new “U.S. Reconstruction Corps,” modeled on FEMA, would be responsible for rapidly mobilizing U.S. reconstruction experts from federal, state, and local levels, as well as the private and non-profit sectors. The Office would build and maintain “on call” lists of reconstruction experts, including retired and active duty police, who are able to deploy briefly, but on a moment’s notice. The Director of the U.S. Reconstruction Corps would be based at, and have a seat on, the National Security Council, and report to the Secretary of State.

The U.N. Reconstruction Corps

The United States should help the United Nations assemble an “on call” list of international experts who can be gathered and quickly deployed into failed states to restore order, head off humanitarian disasters and jump start economic reconstruction. The Corps will include police, judges, correctional officers, health care workers, and civil administrators, many of whom have worked in the U.N.’s other stabilization missions.

Create a U.S. Army Division for Stability Operations

The United States Army should add a new division strength unit to its forces especially trained for the duties of stability operations. The new force would number between 25,000 and 35,000 troops and be deployable anywhere in the world on seven days notice.

Open an Interagency U.S. Stability Operations Institute

The National Defense University and the State Department should work together to open a permanent “Stability Operations Institute,” which would involve all Services and relevant U.S. government agencies involved in reconstruction. The Institute would focus on the full spectrum operations taking place in weak and failed states such as peacekeeping, peace enforcement, humanitarian relief and restoration of law and order. Friendly states would be encouraged to participate.

Triple U.S. Support to the National Endowment for Democracy

The NED should now focus its attention on supporting moderate voices throughout the Arab / Muslim world through local NGO’s and democracy activists. Additionally, the U.S. Government should triple its support for the National Endowment for Democracy and focus the approximately \$80 million increase on supporting the growth and development of representative institutions in the Arab world. Some examples would include aid to: assist independent media, build small business federations, support local human rights watchdog groups and aid democratic political movements.

A Call to Service

Upon graduation from high school, every young American should be encouraged to give at least one year in the service of their country. They would have the opportunity of choosing their preferred form of service from a list that will include: Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, Coast Guard, Peace Corps, AmeriCorps, and hometown non-profit organizations. In return for their service, every young American will receive a salary of at least \$12,000 and a \$7,000 scholarship for further education.

Expand the Peace Corps

The best messengers of American values are those who go abroad in service to humanity. The United States should more than double the capacity of the Peace Corps, with particular emphasis on missions to Arab and Muslim nations.

Create a Civilian Reserve for Homeland Security

Every American citizen should have the opportunity to register with the Department of Homeland Security for a newly created "Civilian Reserve" which could be used to mobilize the skills and talents of the American people in a time of crisis. The database would include contact information on the individuals, and their relevant skills. In time of a crisis, particular Civilian Reservists would be asked to respond to a "call to service" and be available for a deployment of up to three months. Americans of all ages would be encouraged to enlist. They would receive the same benefits during that service as members of the National Guard.